

Message Text

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 6 GABORONE 1641

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS USICA

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP: CODEL HAYAKAWA
SUBJ: SENATOR'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN GABORONE

REF: GABORONE 1627

1. IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR HAYAKAWA'S URGENT REQUEST, FOLLOWING
IS COMPLETE TRANSCRIPT OF SENATOR HAYAKAWA'S PRESS CONFERENCE,
HELD 1100 HOURS JUNE 1. RADIO BOTSWANA CARRIED ITEM NOTING
SENATOR MET WITH PRESIDENT KHAMA AND THAT IN PRESS CONFERENCE
HE MADE TWO MAIN POINTS, I.E., THAT SENATOR DOES NOT BELIEVE
ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS REALISTIC, ALTHOUGH HE WISHES THEM
GOOD LUCK; AND THAT HE THINKS RHODESIAN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT
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MAY SUCCEED. DAILY NEWS JUNE 2 FRONT-PAGED ARTICLE BASED ON
PRESS CONFERENCE. PRESS ACCOUNT MOSTLY FACTUAL AND ACCURATE,
WITH ONLY ONE GLARING MISQUOTE, WHEN IT SAID: "HE (SENATOR
HAYAKAWA) REFERRED TO THE CURRENT LIBERATION WAR IN ZIMBABWE
AS NOTHING ELSE BUT 'ROBBERY'".

2. TEXT OF PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWS:

SEN: IT'S A REAL PLEASURE, FIRST OF ALL, TO BE HERE IN YOUR BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY FOR THE FIRST TIME. I'VE KNOWN VERY, VERY LITTLE ABOUT IT. WHEN I WAS IN SCHOOL I KNEW IT AS BECHUANALAND. IT IS A VERY GREAT DELIGHT TO SEE THE DEVELOPMENT THAT IS HAPPENING HERE, AND I REALIZE THAT YOU NEED MORE ROADS, A BIGGER AIRPORT... YOU NEED MANY THINGS. BUT THE PROGRESS YOU ARE MAKING AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION AND A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH IS SOMETHING THAT DELIGHTS ME VERY MUCH. FROM HERE ON, I SHALL WELCOME YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q. SENATOR, YOU HAVE BEEN TO QUITE A LOT OF COUNTRIES... TO RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA -- CAN YOU SAY WHAT THE PURPOSE OF YOUR TRIP IS?

SEN: IT IS FACT FINDING. MY PURPOSE IS ENTIRELY TO LEARN AS MANY FACTS AS I CAN ABOUT THE COUNTRIES I SHALL VISIT. I HAVE BEEN TO RHODESIA. FROM HERE I GO TO ZAMBIA AND KENYA. THESE HAVE TO BE VERY SHORT VISITS BECAUSE WE HAVE ONLY A TEN DAY VACATION...RECESS FROM THE CONGRESS. SO, I'M MEETING AS MANY PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE IN THIS SHORT TIME.

TODAY IS THE FIRST TIME SINCE BEING IN AFRICA THAT I'VE BEEN ABLE TO SEE A LITTLE BIT OF THE COUNTRYSIDE. I VISITED YOUR AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENTAL STATION, AND THAT I FOUND VERY INTERESTING BECAUSE I, MYSELF, AM ON THE UNITED STATES SENATE
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AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE.

Q. SENATOR, AHILE YOU WERE HERE WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHETHER YOU MET GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND DISCUSSED WHAT WITH THEM.

SEN: GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HERE? YES, THE PEOPLE WE HAVE MET ...A NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT AT MR. ALBERTI'S HOME (HE LISTS THOSE AT DINNER).

Q. YOU DIDN'T DISCUSS ANYTHING OF SUBSTANCE, I MEAN THE POLITICAL SITUATION...I MEAN THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN RHODESIA, FOR EXAMPLE.

SEN: NO, I TRIED TO KEEP OFF RHODESIA PRETTY MUCH BECAUSE I'VE BEEN DISCUSSING RHODESIA SO MUCH WITH SO MANY PEOPLE IN RHODESIA, ITSELF.

Q. WOULD YOU LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH US YOUR VIEWS ON (ZIMBABWE)?

SEN: WELL, LET ME SAY ABOUT RHODESIA THAT I MET ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, BISHOP MUZOREWA, MR. SITHOLE AND

CHIRAU. I DID NOT MEET MR. IAN SMITH BECAUSE HE WAS OUT OF THE CITY. I MET THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, MR. DAVID SMITH, AND I MET MR. CHINAMANO WHO IS THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF (INAUDIBLE) AND I MET MR. ALBERT MUGABE WHO IS THE BROTHER OF ROBERT MUGABE. ROBERT IS IN NORTH KOREA AT THE PRESENT TIME, SO I WAS UNABLE TO MEET HIM.

Q. (SOMETHING ABOUT THE ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE).

SEN: NO, THAT WAS ONLY MENTIONED IN PASSING. WHAT I WANTED AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WAS A DESCRIPTION FROM THE GOVERNMENT PEOPLE OF THEIR PLANS AS THEY APPROACH THE ELECTION, AND THE DECLARATION OF THEIR NEW GOVERNMENT ON DECEMBER 31ST. I WANTED TO KNOW WHAT PROGRESS THEY'RE MAKING TOWARD THAT END. AND I ALSO LISTENED

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WITH VERY GREAT INTEREST TO THE CRITICISMS OF THOSE PLANS EXPRESSED BY MR. ALBERT MUGABE AND MR. CHINAMANO.

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Q. WHAT KIND OF CRITICISM?

SEN: ESSENTIALLY THEY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WOULD WORK AT ALL. THEY DID NOT BELIEVE IN THE SINCERITY OF THE WHITES. OR IN THE BLACKS WHO ARE (INAUDIBLE)

Q. SIR, CAN YOU TELL US YOUR OWN PERSONAL OPINION ON RHODESIA.

SEN: I'M REALLY NOT READY TO COME TO A CONCLUSION YET BECAUSE I STILL HAVE MUCH READING TO DO OF ALL THE MATERIALS GIVEN ME BY BOTH SIDES. ON THE WHOLE, I BELIEVE FIRST OF ALL IN THE SINCERITY OF PEOPLE LIKE BISHOP MUZOREWA AND MR. CHIRAU, AND MR. SITHOLE. I BELIEVE THAT THEY REALLY BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE ACQUIRING A GENUINE SHARE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FUTURE OF ZIMBABWE. AND I BELIEVE VERY MUCH IN THE SINCERITY OF MR. DAVID SMITH. THAT THEY ARE DETERMINED TO HAVE BLACK MAJORITY RULE, AND THAT THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF SHARING RULE WOULD

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PASS AFTER TEN YEARS, AND AFTER THAT IT WILL BE A MULTI-RACIAL, NON-ETHNIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT WITH THE BEST MAN IN EACH POST, ACCORDING TO HIS MERIT. I BELIEVE SINCERELY THAT IS THE GOAL OF ALL OF THEM.

Q. BUT SENATOR, WAR IS GOING ON IN RHODESIA. I THINK ONE OF THE ISSUES THAT WORRIES EVERYBODY IS THAT THE FIGHTING STOPS. HOW CAN THIS HAPPEN WITHOUT THE PEOPLE DOING THE FIGHTING BEING DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THIS SORT OF THING?

SEN: THAT'S PRECISELY THE QUESTION THAT WORRIES ME. IF THEY WISH TO BE INVOLVED IN A MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT WITH FREE ELECTIONS, THAT IS ONE THING. BUT IF, AS MR. MUGABE SAYS, HE DOES NOT WANT A MULTI-PARTY STATE, BUT A ONE PARTY STATE, AND HE INSISTS THAT IS THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT HE WANTS, I DON'T KNOW HOW HIS VIEW CAN BE RECONCILED WITH THE VIEWS OF THE OTHER FOUR LEADERS IN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. NOW, MR. NKOMO HAS DENOUNCED THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AS WELL AS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT SETUP, SO I DON'T KNOW WHAT HE WANTS. SO IT'S HARD TO FIND A COMMON GROUND ON WHICH YOU CAN BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER.

THAT'S WHY I FIND THE WHOLE SITUATION SO PUZZLING. AND THAT IS WHY I HAVE NO POSITIVE RECOMMENDATION TO MAKE AT THIS STAGE.

Q. THE SOUTH AFRICAN PAPERS QUOTE YOU AS SAYING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT ARRANGEMENTS MAY HAVE A CHANCE TO SUCCEED. IS THAT TRUE?

SEN: YES, IT IS. BUT YOU HAVE TO UNDERLINE THE "MAY". THERE IS NO CERTAINTY ABOUT IT. I HOPE IT WILL SUCCEED. BECAUSE THEY REALLY INTEND TO HAVE ONE MAN ONE VOTE, A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM, SHARED RESPONSIBILITY...AND THAT SHARED RESPONSIBILITY IS ALREADY UNCLASSIFIED

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IN EXISTENCE. I VISITED THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. THERE ARE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS, AS YOU KNOW, MR. VAN DER BYL, WHO IS WHITE, AND MR. GABELLA, WHO IS BLACK. AND IN THE COURSE OF MORE THAN AN HOUR'S CONVERSATION WITH THEM, THEY REALLY ACTED AS EQUALS, NEITHER DEFERRED TO THE OTHER. THEY STATED THEIR OPINIONS CLEARLY WITHOUT ANY SENSE THAT ONE IS YIELDING TO THE OTHER, SO THAT I REALLY FELT THAT THEY DECIDED ON EVEN TERMS. NOW IF ALL THE OTHER MINISTRIES WORK IN THE SAME WAY, THEN THE PLAN IS WORKING ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL DESIGN.

Q. SENATOR, I FAIL TO RECONCILE THAT. THAT SOUNDS VERY THEORETICAL...

SEN: I'M NOT TALKING THEORY. I'M TALKING ABOUT WHAT I SAW. I SAW TWO GENTLEMEN DISCUSSING MATTERS AS EQUALS.

Q. I WAS TRYING TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT ONLY RECENTLY WE HAD MR. BYRON HOVE THROWN OUT OF HIS JOB, AND APPARENTLY THEY DIDN'T SEEM TO HAVE THE AUTHORITY FOR ANYTHING ANY MORE.

SEN: SITHOLE AND CHIRAWU WANTED HIM THROWN OUT TOO. THEY (AND MUZOREWA) WERE NEVER UNANIMOUS. MUZOREWA DID NOT WANT HIM THROWN OUT. SO THAT'S TWO TO ONE, SO FAR AS THE BLACKS ARE CONCERNED. I DON'T KNOW THE FULL FACTS OF THIS, BUT THE FACT THAT HE DID NOT RETAIN HIS JOB HAS NO PARTICULARLY PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. BECAUSE THOSE WHO WERE THROWING HIM OUT WERE BOTH BLACK AND WHITE.

Q. THERE IS ONE DANGER WHILE WE ARE STILL ON THIS THING HOW MUCH FOLLOWING DO YOU THINK PEOPLE LIKE CHIEF CHIRAU AND SITHOLE HAVE...?

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SEN: WELL, YOU'D HAVE TO ASK THE SAME THING ABOUT MUGABE AND NKOMO. HOW MUCH FOLLOWING DO THEY HAVE? DO THEY EXAGGERATE THEIR FOLLOWING? IS THEIR FOLLOWING DIVIDED AMONG THEMSELVES? I'M TOLD THAT NKOMO'S FOLLOWING IS QUITE DIVIDED AMONG THEMSELVES. I'M TOLD THIS ABOUT MUGABE'S FOLLOWING, TOO. AND SOME OF THAT WHICH LOOKS LIKE GUERRILLA WARFARE IS NOT REALLY GUERRILLA WARFARE AT ALL, BUT SIMPLY PLUNDER AND ROBBERY ON THE PART OF INDIVIDUALS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF AN UNTIDY SITUATION.

Q. IN SOUTH AFRICA YOU WERE QUOTED AS HAVING SAID YOU WERE IMPRESSED BY THE RACIAL HARMONY EXISTING IN SOUTH AFRICA. IS THAT TRUE?

SEN: NO. I DID NOT SAY THAT. I SAID I HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT ...I REMARKED ON THE RACIAL HARMONY THAT EXISTED ON AN INTERPERSONAL BASIS IN RHODESIA. I DID NOT SAY ANYTHING ABOUT RACIAL UNCLASSIFIED

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HARMONY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Q. ARE THERE SPECIAL REASONS WHY YOU DID NOT SEE MR. IAN SMITH?

SEN: HE WAS OUT OF TOWN. HE WAS ATTENDING THE FUNERAL OF A FRIEND. SO ALL I COULD DO WAS TALK TO HIM ON THE TELEPHONE.

Q. WHAT DID YOU DISCUSS?

SEN: NOTHING MUCH. HE SAID I'M GLAD YOU'RE HERE TO INVESTIGATE AT FIRST HAND THE CONDITIONS IN RHODESIA, AND I SAID IT'S A REAL PLEASURE TO TALK TO YOU, MR. SMITH. THAT KIND OF THING...

Q. WERE THERE ANY SERIOUS SUBJECTS THAT YOU WANTED TO TALK TO SMITH ABOUT?

SEN: WELL, THAT WAS ALL WE COULD TALK ABOUT. SO I TALKED ABOUT THESE OTHER THINGS IN DEPTH WITH MR. DAVID SMITH, WHO WAS THERE. I TALKED TO GENERAL WALLS, THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES, AND I HAD VERY GOOD DISCUSSIONS WITH BLACK MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. THEY WITHHELD NOTHING. I COULD SEE THEY WERE VERY, VERY CANDID. THEY GAVE ME AN IMPRESSION OF GREAT SINCERITY.

Q. SIR, ARE YOU AWARE OF THE DOUBLE STANDARD THAT IS BEING PLAYED BY THE UNITED STATES AND CERTAIN OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES WHO CONDEMN THE RUSSIANS AND THE CUBANS FOR INTERFERING IN THE SO-CALLED DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, AND THE, ON THE OTHER HAND, CLOSE THEIR EYES WHEN FRANCE INTERFERES IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS ZAIRE, CHAD THE SPANISH SAHARA.

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SEN: THE UNITED STATES, I HAVE CRITICIZED FOR MANY, MANY DOUBLE STANDARDS. THAT IS THEY CRITICIZE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE MINOR INFRACTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE PHILIPPINES AND SOUTH KOREA. THEY REMAIN COMPLETELY SILENT ABOUT THE SLAUGHTER OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS GOING ON IN CAMBODIA. THE UNITED STATES, AND PARTICULARLY THIS ADMINISTRATION, HAS BEEN QUITE HYPOCRITICAL IN SOME THINGS. THEY INSIST ON MORE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN CHILE. THEY DO NOT CRITICIZE THE SOVIET UNION WHERE NOBODY HAS ANY DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. SO, OUR GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO HAVE A DOUBLE STANDARD.

Q. BUT YOU ACCEPT THAT THE WESTERN POWERS ARE DOING VERY LITTLE TO STOP FRANCE FROM INTERFERING...

SEN: WELL, I THINK THAT FRANCE AND BELGIUM HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO PULL THEIR OWN CITIZENS OUT OF A SITUATION WHERE THEY ARE LIKELY TO BE SLAUGHTERED.

Q. WHAT ABOUT IN CHAD?

SEN: I KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THE CHAD SITUATION. BUT THE FRENCH, I MUST SAY, FEEL CONSIDERABLE RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE NATIONS WHERE THEY USED TO BE THE RULING CLASS. AND THEY FEEL RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE BLACK GOVERNMENTS THERE AS WELL AS TO THE WHITE RESIDENTS THERE. AND THE BELGIANS FEEL SOME-

WHAT THE SAME WAY. AND I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE BRITISH SHOULD
EVER FORGET BOTSWANA, AND I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT BELGIUM SHOULD
EVER FORGET THAT THEY ONCE HAD CONTROL OVER WHAT IS NOW KNOWN
AS ZAIRE. YOU CANNOT HAVE THE WHITE POWERS WASHING THEIR HANDS
OF, FOR EXAMPLE, BOTSWANA. YOU ARE DEPENDENT TO THIS VERY DAY
ON YOUR MEMBERSHIP IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. AND BRITAIN
HELPS YOU. AND THEY WILL COME TO HELP YOU IF YOU ARE UNDER
ATTACK OR HAVE INTERNAL STRIFE. IF YOUR LIVES ARE IN DANGER,
AND IF BRITISH INTERFERENCE IS NECESSARY, THERE IS NO DOUBT
THAT THERE WILL BE BRITISH INTERFERENCE ON YOUR BEHALF. AND
IF THE FRENCH INTERFERE IN ZAIRE, IT SEEMS TO ME TO BE FAIR
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ENOUGH. IT IS NOT A RACIAL MATTER. AND YOUR'RE MAKING IT ONE.

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Q. ARE YOU SAYING...THAT RUSSIA AND CUBA ARE TRYING TO RE-
COLONIZE AFRICA?

SEN: I BELIEVE THAT'S WHAT THEY'RE DOING.

Q. ARE YOU NOT UNDERESTIMATING THE INTELLIGENCE OF AFRICAN LEADERS?

SEN: LISTEN, IT'S NOT AFRICAN LEADERS ALONE WHO HAVE BEEN DECEIVED BY THE RUSSIANS AND THE CUBANS. CZECHOSLOVAKIANS HAVE BEEN DECEIVED BY THE RUSSIANS. BULGARIANS, HUNGARIANS, RUMANIANS, LATVIANS, ESTONIANS, LITHUANIANS...THEY'VE ALL BEEN DEVEIVED BY THE RUSSIANS. SO HAVE THE POLES. SO IF BLACKS ARE DECEIVED BY THE RUSSIANS, IT DOESN'T MEAN THEY ARE MORE INTELLIGENT OR LESS INTELLIGENT. IT MEANS THAT THEY'RE SUCKERS, TOO.

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Q. YOU FEEL VERY STRONG ABOUT THE RUSSIANS AND THE CUBANS...

SEN: YES, I DO. IF THE UNITED STATES HAD NO BUSINESS IN VIETNAM, CUBANS HAVE NO BUSINESS IN ANGOLA. EVEN LESS.

Q. WELL, MAYBE THE BLACK PEOPLE ARE EQUALLY WORRIED ABOUT ANY FORM OF INTERFERENCE, WHETHER IT BE AMERICAN, RUSSIAN, BRITISH...

SEN: IT'S NOT A MATTER OF BLACK AND WHITE. IT IS A MATTER OF RIVAL IMPERIALISMS. HERE IS ANGOLA TRYING TO ESTABLISH A SELF-GOVERNING NATION, AND RUSSIA AND CUBA STEP IN THERE AND GOVERN IT FOR THEM. WHO RUNS ANGOLA AT THE PRESENT MOMENT? CUBANS ARE IN EVERY MINISTRY. THEY'RE IN EVERY GOVERNMENT OFFICE, RUNNING THINGS. ANGOLANS HAVE LOST THEIR FREEDOM COMPLETELY TO THE CUBANS. THEY ARE LITERALLY RUNNING THE COUNTRY. PLEASE UNDERSTAND THAT. NOW, IS THAT AN IMPROVEMENT ON FRENCHMEN, OR SPANIARDS OR PORTUGUESE OR ENGLISHMENT?

Q. WHEN YOU EXPRESS YOUR OPINION ABOUT RHODESIA, COULD THIS BE YOUR BASIC WORRY?

SEN: NO. THAT DOESN'T WORRY ME VERY MUCH THERE, BECAUSE THEY'RE NOT IN THERE YET. THEY'RE GIVING HELP TO NKOMO, I UNDERSTAND. MY POSITION ON RHODESIA...NOW NOTICE THIS. I'M NOT WHITE, ALTHOUGH I'VE LIVED ALL MY LIFE IN A WHITE WORLD. BUT I'M NOT WHITE. I BELIEVE IN A TRULY INTER-RACIAL SOCIETY. MY CHILDREN ARE PRODUCTS OF AN INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGE, LIKE THE CHILDREN OF YOUR OWN PRESIDENT. ALL RIGHT. WHAT I BELIEVE IN IS ANY SOCIETY THAT IS WORKING TOWARDS -- LIKE BOTSWANA --- TOWARDS AN INTER-RACIAL SOCIETY, WHERE WHITE MEN, BLACK MEN AND YELLOW MEN SHAKE HANDS AND SAY, WE ARE PARTNERS TOGETHER. NOW THE RHODESIANS SEEM TO BE WORKING TOWARDS THAT END. WHEN YOU HAVE

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AN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF ONE WHITE MAN AND THREE BLACK MEN, EACH OF THEM BELIEVING IN THIS..WHEN YOU HAVE TEN MINISTRIES WITH CO-MINISTERS, ONE WHITE AND ONE BLACK, AND COOPERATING TOGETHER...WHEN YOU HAVE A MINORITY POPULATION OF WHITES AND AN ELECTORAL SYSTEM DEVELOPED FOR ONE MAN, ONE VOTE WITH FULL PARITY AFTER TEN YEARS, THEY ARE WORKING TOWARDS A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY. YOU SHOULD BE ENCOURAGING THIS. AND BECAUSE THERE IS HOPE OF CREATING A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY, THERE, I'M IN FAVOR OF THAT AGREEMENT AND HOPE IT WILL WORK, REGARDLESS OF WHO THEIR ENEMIES ARE. IF THEIR ENEMIES ARE THE UNITED STATES OR IF THEIR ENEMIES ARE CUBA, I DON'T CARE. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THIS WORK. WHAT I'M PROUD OF IN THE UNITED STATES IS THAT WE HAVE A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY WORKING THERE. ONLY THIRTY YEARS AGO THE PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES WERE AT BLOODY WAR WITH THE PEOPLE OF MY ANCESTORS. MY OWN PEOPLE IN CALIFORNIA WERE PUT IN DETENTION CAMPS FOR THE DURATION OF THE WAR BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT TRUSTED. BUT THIRTY YEARS LATER, IN A POPULATION OF CALIFORNIA, WHICH IS LESS THAN ONE PER CENT JAPANESE, I WAS ELECTED THEIR UNITED STATES SENATOR. WHICH MEANS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN CALIFORNIA FORGOT THEIR RACISM OF THIRTY YEARS AGO. ANY SOCIETY THAT CHANGES DYNAMICALLY LIKE THAT OVER A FEW DECADES IS A HOPEFUL SOCIETY. NOW, I SEE HOPES OF THAT KIND OF DYNAMIC CHANGE GOING ON IN RHODESIA. I APPEAL TO MY FRIEND, MR. NUGENT, HERE, WHO IS NEWSWEEK CORRESPONDENT IN AFRICA, AND HAS BEEN FOR MANY YEARS. HE HAD MANY WHITE FRIENDS IN SALISBURY TEN YEARS AGO WHO SAID, WHITE MEN WILL ALWAYS RUN THIS COUNTRY. HE VISITED THEM LAST WEEK AND FOUND THEY HAVE ALL CHANGED THEIR MINDS. SO CHANGE IS GOING ON. CORRECT, MR. NUGENT?

NUGENT: CORRECT. A DEFINITE CHANGE IN ATTITUDE.

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SEN: SO, THERE IS AN EMERGENT, HOPEFUL, MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY DEVELOPING RIGHT THERE, NEXT DOOR TO YOU, IN RHODESIA. AND HERE ARE PEOPLE, SPECIFICALLY MUGABE, WHO DOES NOT WANT A MULTI-PARTY SOCIETY WITH FREE ELECTIONS...HERE'S NKOMO, WHO DOESN'T KNOW WHAT THE HELL HE WANTS, AND THEY CONTINUE TO WAGE A WAR AGAINST THE EMERGING MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY. SO, I DON'T UNDERSTAND WHY THE QUESTIONS THAT MOST OF YOU ASK ARE HOSTILE TO THE WHOLE IDEA OF A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY.

Q. A WEEK AGO I WAS IN MAPUTO WHERE I SPOKE TO MUGABE'S MEN... I SPOKE TO HIS VICE PRESIDENT...AND HE TOLD ME PERSONALLY THAT THEY ARE NOT AGAINST ELECTIONS, AS YOU SAY...

SEN: BUT I HAVE SEEN MUGABE QUOTED REPEATEDLY, "I'M A MARXIST-LENINIST. I BELIEVE IN A ONE-PARTY SYSTEM". HE MAY SAY FOR THE TIME BEING TO A FOREIGN JOURNALIST LIKE YOU, "OF COURSE, WE BELIEVE IN ELECTIONS." BUT DON'T YOU BE FOOLED.
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Q. CAN YOU TELL US WHAT STEPS AMERICA OR THE WESTERN POWERS HAVE TAKEN TO CONVINCE US THEY ARE TRYING TO GET A SPEEDY SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN AND ZIMBABWEAN PROBLEMS?

SEN: WELL, THIS IS ONE OF THE QUESTIONS I WANT TO ASK PRESIDENT CARTER WHEN I GET HOME.

I DO NOT FEEL THAT WE ARE TAKING ENOUGH CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS ANYWHERE. I DO NOT BELIEVE WE ARE TAKING ENOUGH CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS ON RHODESIA.

Q. WHAT COULD BE RELEVANT?

SEN: PUTTING IT AS SIMPLY AS POSSIBLE...WELL, AS I SAY, I'M STILL STUDYING THIS SUBJECT. WHAT I'VE INDICATED TO YOU ARE

NOT REASONSED CONCLUSIONS SO MUCH AS MY DEEP EMOTIONS ON THE SUBJECT. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY SUCCEED. AND, I SEE THAT THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IS WORKING TOWARDS THIS END. I SEE NOBODY ELSE WORKING TOWARDS THIS END. I DON'T SEE JOHN VORSTER WORKING TOWARDS A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY. AND I DO NOT SEE THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA -- EXCEPT INTERNALLY -- WORKING TOWARDS A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY. I SEE THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN INTERFERING OR FAILING TO INTERFERE IN MANY PLACES, IN WAYS THAT ARE NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF A PEACEFUL, MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY.

Q. A NUMBER OF REPUBLICAN POLITICANS HAVE BEEN QUOTED AS CONDEMNING THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION FOR CRITICIZING SOUTH AFRICA. WHY HAS AMERICA TAKEN SUCH A POSITION?

SEN: I HAVE NOT HEARD THIS NEWS. I AM NOT ONE OF THOSE REPUBLICAN SENATORS. YOU MUST ASK THEM.
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Q. BUT PERSONALLY, ARE YOU AGAINST THE ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION TRYING TO BRING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO ITS SENSES? FOR INSTANCE, THE ARMS EMBARGO ON SOUTH AFRICA.

SEN: THE UNITED STATES WAS ACTING IN CONCERT WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, IN THAT RESPECT. I HAVE NOT DISAPPROVED.

Q. WHAT ARE YOUR PERSONAL VIEWS ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS?

SEN: I THINK THEY ARE IMPRACTICAL BECAUSE NKOMO, HIMSELF, HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. AND THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL IS TO GET NKOMO IN, SO WHERE ARE YOU, NOW? IF NKOMO AND MUGABE SAY, WE'LL BE GLAD TO COME, AND IF THE PRESENT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL SAYS, WE'LL BE GLAD TO BE REPRESENTED, TOO, THAT'S ONE THING. BUT THE CENTRAL CHARACTER THAT EVERYBODY'S TRYING TO GET INTO THE NEW ZIMBABWEAN GOVERNMENT, MR. NKOMO, WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, HE WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT...SO WHAT'S HIS PLAN?

Q. WHAT ABOUT THE EFFORTS OF STEPHEN LOW AND JOHN GRAHAM?

SEN: WELL, UNLESS THEY CAN SELL NKOMO, AND PERSUADE HIM DIFFERENTLY...BUT UP TO THIS MOMENT, NKOMO SAYS, "I WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH IT." SO NEXT, YOU MUST ASK NKOMO.

Q. SO YOU ARE SAYING THAT THESE TWO MEN, NKOMO AND MUGABE, MUST BE BRUSHED ASIDE.

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INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 ISO-00 SSO-00 IO-06 AID-01
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TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

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AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JOHANNESBURG IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

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SEN: NO, I DON'T SAY THAT. I WISH THEM LUCK. MR. GRAHAM
MR. LOW, I HOPE THEY CAN PERSUADE NKOMO TO COME IN PEACEFULLY
AND JOIN FORCES WITH THE REST. IF THEY CAN, THEY ARE BETTER
SALESMEN THAN I THINK THEY ARE. BUT I WISH THEM LUCK.

Q. SO, SENATOR, YOU WOULD GIVE THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT YOUR
BLESSING?

SEN: I SEE MORE HOPE AS A RESULT OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT.
AND I SAY THIS STRICTLY FROM A RACIAL POINT OF VIEW. AS A
NON-WHITE MYSELF, BUT BROUGHT UP WITHIN WHITE CULTURE, I HAVE
SEEN BOTH THE GLORIES AND THE SHORT-COMINGS OF WESTERN
CIVILIZATION. AND ALL OF US WHO ARE NOT WHITE OWE A GREAT
DEAL TO WESTERN CIVILIZATION. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN KICKED AROUND
BY WESTERN CIVILIZATION. BUT, OUR VIEW IS NECESSARILY AMBIVI-
LENT, IS IT NOT? WE DO NOT ENJOY THE STANDARD OF LIFE WE ENJOY
WITHOUT WESTERN CIVILIZATION. RIGHT THERE IN RHODESIA, RIGHT
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HERE IN BOTSWANA. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, MANY NON-WHITES, INCLUDING MANY CHINESE AND JAPANESE, I'M SURE, CARRY RESENTMENT FROM THE PAST...PAST INJURIES THEY HAVE SUFFERED. NEVERTHELESS, WE MUST LOOK NOT AT INJURIES WE HAVE SUFFERED IN THE PAST, BUT AT WHAT HOPES WE CAN BUILD FOR THE FUTURE. AND WHEN YOUR DAUGHTER COMES HOME AND SAYS I'VE GOT A NEW BOYFRIEND, IN MOST COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD -- WHETHER THEY SAY IT ALOUD OR NOT -- THE QUESTION IS "WHAT COLOR IS THIS BOYFRIEND?" AND IF YOUR'RE BLACK AND THE BOYFRIEND IS WHITE, AND IF YOUR DAUGHTER IS CHINESE, AND HER NEW BOYFRIEND IS SHITE OR BLACK, ALL HELL BREAKS LOOSE. EVERYBODY'S A RACIALIST IN THIS WORL. BUT SOME COUNTRIES, WITHIN THEMSELVES, ARE SETTING PATTERNS OF THE KIND OF SOCIETY IN WHICH RACE DOESN'T MATTER. AND THIS IS WRITTEN INTO THE AGREEMENT THAT RHODESIA HAS MADE OUT FOR ITSELF. AND THEREFORE, I WOULD HOPE IT WILL SUCCEED. IT IS WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH THEY DID NOT LIVE BY FOR A LONG, LONG TIME, UNTIL AFTER THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SALVES. BUT ANY SUCH CONSTITUTION TAKES TIME TO LEARN TO LIVE UP TO. AND THE HOPE OF AFRICA -- WHICH TECHNOLOGICALLY HAS BEEN BEHIND THE REST OF THE WORLD, ALTHOUGH NOT BEHIND IN HUMAN WISDOM -- IS PEACEFUL RESOLUTION SO THAT YOU MAY FREELY INTERACT WITH FRENCHMEN, BELGIANS, ENGLISHMEN, AMERICANS, CHINESE, JAPANESE, KOREANS, EVERYBODY. SO WHEN YOUR DAUGHTER COMES HOME AND SAYS, "I'VE GOT A NEW BOYFRIEND", ALL YOU NEED TO ASK IS "IS HE WELL EDUCATED, DOES HE HAVE GOOD MANNERS?" YOU DON'T HAVE TO ASK WHAT HIS RACE IS. BUT THAT'S THE FIRST QUESTION, STILL, FOR EVERYBODY.

Q. SENATOR, I FORESEE THE POSSIBILITY OF MORE BLOODSHED IN RHODESIA. I'M NOT A PESSIMIST, BUT I FORESEE THIS POSSIBILITY. NOW, WHEN IT COMES TO THAT, WOULD YOU PERSONALLY THINK THAT THE AMERICANS AND THE OTHER WESTERN POWERS WOULD HAVE TO SUPPORT, MILITARILY AND OTHERWISE, THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT?
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SEN: WELL, IF I HAD MY PERSONAL PREFERENCES, AND IF THEY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IS ALL I THINK IT IS -- AND THERE'S ANOTHER IF, BECAUSE WE REALLY WON'T KNOW UNTIL THE END OF DECEMBER, 1978 -- BUT IF EVERYTHING GOES WELL UP TO DECEMBER 31ST, AT LEAST, THEN WE WILL KNOW THEY MEAN WHAT THEY SAY, BOTH WHITES AND BLACKS. IF IT'S STILL WORKING WELL ANOTHER YEAR AFTER THAT, THAT'S VERY, VERY GOOD, INDEED. BUT WITH THOSE PROVISOS OF "IF'S", ONE CAN ONLY HOPE FOR THE BEST. AS FAR AS MILITARY INTERVENTION IS CONCERNED, THE POSSIBILITY OF AMERICANS IN THEIR PRESENT STATE OF MIND, COMING TO INTERVENTION IN ANY SITUATION, ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD, IS EXTREMELY UNLIKELY... UNLESS SOMEBODY ATTACKS PEARL HARBOR AGAIN.

Q. THEY'VE ALREADY ANNOUNCED PLANS FOR ELECTIONS IN RHODESIA.

SEN: THAT PLAN FOR ELECTION IS BEAUTIFUL. IT'S NOT ON ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUNDS. ITS ON PARTY GROUNDS. YOU NOTICE THAT. AND THEY'RE GOING TO VOTE BY PARTY, NOT BE TRIBAL BLOCK. WHICH MEANS THAT THEY'RE TRYING TO GET AWAY FROM TRIBALISM, WHICH IS A SUBORDINATE FORM OF RACISM, IS IT NOT? DO YOU THINK IT WILL WORK? I DON'T KNOW. YOU KNOW BETTER THAN I DO. I WAS ONLY THERE TWO DAYS. BUT, IN THOSE DOCUMENTS YOU CAN SEE THAT THERE IS AN ATTEMPT TO GET AWAY FROM TRIBALISM... TO GET AWAY FROM REGIONALISM...TO THINK IN TERMS OF NATIONAL PARTIES. AND THAT IS A STEP FORWARD.

Q. IN OTHER WORDS, YOU ARE CALLING FOR BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES TO DO AWAY WITH THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL?

SEN: NO. I SAID, IF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL CAN BE SOLD TO NKOMO BY MR. LOW AND MR. GRAHAM...IF THOSE TWO MEN CAN SELL IT TO NKOMO, I WISH THEM THE BEST OF LUCK.

THANK YOU, GENTLEMEN.

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